

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----121232 241800Z /47
P 241739Z JAN 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5054
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 01046

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON PLENARY, JANUARY 24, 1978
(SALT TWO - 1577)

REF: A. SALT TWO - 1578
B. SALT TWO - 1580

1. AT JANUARY 24 PLENARY (REPRESENTATIVE HILLIS PRESENT),
MY STATEMENT (REFTEL A) ADDRESSED ASBMS, PROPOSING THAT THE
SIDES UNDERTAKE NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR DEPLOY ASBMS FOR
PERIOD OF PROTOCOL. I MADE CLEAR THAT PROPOSAL IS CON-
TINGENT UPON SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF US PROPOSALS RELATED TO
ASBMS IN THE TREATY, NOTING THAT PROHIBITION DURING
PROTOCOL WOULD ALLOW EACH SIDE TO ASSESS DESIRABILITY OF
PERMITTING THESE WEAPONS.

2. SEMENOV ADDRESSED NON-CIRCUMVENTION/NON-TRANSFER
STRESSING THAT A PROVISION IN THAT SUBJECT IS AN INDIS-
PENSABLE CONDITION OF A TREATY. HE TABLED NEW LANGUAGE
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(REFTEL B) WHICH REPLACED SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TRANSFER
OF COMPONENTS, TECHNICAL DESCRIPTIONS, AND BLUEPRINTS,
WITH OBLIGATION NOT TO ASSIST IN DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS; HE REAFFIRMED PROPOSED AGREED STATEMENT
THAT THE OBLIGATIONS REFER TO ARMS COVERED BY TREATY AND
PROTOCOL.
3. IN PRIVATE MEETING SEMENOV SAID PRESENCE OF VISITORS TO

DELEGATION SHOULD NOT IMPINGE ON NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH ARE TO BE CONDUCTED BY DELEGATIONS THEMSELVES. HE SUGGESTED ASBM QUESTION BE REFERRED TO DRAFTING GROUP FOR DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES AND THEN RETURNED TO CHIEFS, TO WHICH I AGREED. I SAID IT WAS PREMATURE TO COMMENT ON SOVIET-PROPOSED ARTICLE XII PENDING STUDY, AND HE AGREED NUANCES SHOULD BE EXAMINED FIRST. SEMENOV SAID HE PLANNED TO ADDRESS TIMING OF AGGREGATE REDUCTIONS AT NEXT PLENARY.

4. HILLIS-ROWNY/BELETSKY-USTINOV BILATERAL. BELETSKY SAID OUR OFFER TO BAN ALL ASBMS AND MIRVED ASBMS FOR PERIOD OF PROTOCOL IS NOT A POSITIVE STEP AND THAT BOTH SHOULD BE BANNED IN TREATY. ROWNY COUNTERED USTINOV'S ASSERTION THAT ASBMS, MIRVED AND UN-MIRVED ARE DESTABILIZING. CONGRESSMAN HILLIS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF VERIFICATION TO US PUBLIC ACCEPTABILITY OF THE TREATY.

5. HILLIS-JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN BILATERAL. CONGRESSMAN HILLIS RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE ANTI-SATELLITE PROGRAM OF THE SOVIET UNION AS IT RELATED TO NTM AND TREATY VERIFICATION. SHCHUKIN CONFIRMED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD CONDUCTED ANTI-SATELLITE TESTS BUT SAID THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO INTENTION OF DESTROYING SATELLITES AND THE ACCUSATIONS MADE IN PRESS SPREADING SUCH IDEAS ARE FABRICATIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, TESTS AND EXPERIMENTS IN THIS AREA ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH HOW SAFE THE NTM SYSTEMS MAY BE. HOWEVER,
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SUCH TESTS ARE NOT REPEAT NOT TO DESTROY SATELLITES OF NTM, COMMUNICATIONS, OR GEODESY. THE USSR HAS NO INTENTION OF DESTROYING ANY SATELLITE--THIS WOULD BE SENSELESS AND DESTABILIZING. HE COMMENTED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR ONE SIDE TO SIMULTANEOUSLY DESTROY ALL SATELLITES OF THE OTHER SIDE. REGARDING ASBMS, SHCHUKIN STATED THAT HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE US WANTED TO KEEP THE ASBM OPTION OPEN SINCE NEITHER SIDE HAD ANY INTENTION TO DEVELOP OR DEPLOY SUCH A SYSTEM. RETAINING THE OPTION WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE TREATY IN THAT IT WOULD SUGGEST SERIOUS INTENT TO DEVELOP STILL ANOTHER NEW STRATEGIC SYSTEM.

6. PEREZ-GRAHAM/SMOLIN-BOUKHOV BILATERAL. SMOLIN IN QUESTIONING US PROPOSAL TO BAN ASBMS FOR THE PERIOD OF THE PROTOCOL ASKED WHY THE US WAS NOT WILLING TO BAN MIRVED ASBMS FOR THE PERIOD OF THE TREATY. PEREZ AND GRAHAM REPLIED THAT ASBMS WITH SINGLE WARHEADS WOULD NOT BE PRACTICAL GIVEN COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH DEVELOPING AND DEPLOYING SUCH A SYSTEM. SMOLIN ALSO INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE PREPARED TO INCLUDE THE REFERENCES TO "BEAR" AND "BISON" IN II.3 IN A

COMMON UNDERSTANDING SIMILAR TO THE ONE ON MISSILE DESIGNATIONS IN II.5.

7. RAMEE-KWIECIAK-MIHNOVETS/JOURAVLEV-BULANENKO BILATERAL. JOURAVLEV SAID THAT UNDER SOVIET PROPOSALS, EXISTING MYASISHCHEV HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD COUNT UNDER TREATY UNTIL CONVERSION TO TANKERS UNDER AGREED PROCEDURES, BUT EXISTING MYASISHCHEV TANKERS WOULD NOT COUNT IN PERIOD BEFORE BEING GIVEN DISTINGUISHING FEATURES SINCE THEY WERE NOT HEAVY

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BOMBERS. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, JOURAVLEV SAID "STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS" MENTIONED IN SOVIET ARTICLE XII WERE HEAVY BOMBERS, ICBMS, SLBMS, ASBMS AND CRUISE MISSILES, ADDING THAT LAUNCHERS WERE ALSO COVERED IN TREATY. IN DISCUSSION OF "CAPABILITIES/CHARACTERISTICS" IN ARTICLE II.3 (HEAVY BOMBERS) JOURAVLEV INDICATED BOTH TERMS MIGHT BE DROPPED FROM TEXT.

8. NEXT PLENARY IS SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY, JANUARY 27.
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